

Our Course Is Clear

LORD Wavell's proposals for the reconstitution of the Government of India are being warmly acclaimed by the politicians and publicists in Britain as a grand stride in the direction of India's self-government. They are nothing of the sort.

Those of us who have carefully read Netaji's luminous statements on these proposals, which have been for the last four days appearing in the columns of the Azad Hind, can have no doubt in our minds about the bogus character of the British Viceroy's latest offer to India. We cannot do better in this leader than to recall some of the points that Netaji has made with characteristic force and clarity.

Lord Wavell has himself made it clear that the existing constitution stands, and that his offer does not imply any constitutional change. The Viceroy will remain the virtual autocrat of India. He will retain all his present powers of veto.

The acceptance of Wavell's offer would mean the acceptance of the principle of Communalism in politics.

Again, the acceptance of Wavell's proposals would make it incumbent on our leaders to co-operate whole-heartedly with Britain in her war against Nippon and her East Asiatic allies. In fact, one of the main motives behind Wavell's offer is to get India to do the main fighting for Britain in the Far East. Wavell himself makes no secret of this.

India has already suffered terribly as the result of the war which Britain entered in 1939 without so much as consulting the Central Legislature. It was because India was dragged into a war against her will by Britain that the Congress Ministries in eight of our provinces resigned. How then could the Congress now consent to help the British to bleed India white for the sake of their imperialist war in the East.

In short, the Congress would have to repudiate its earlier resolutions and fundamental principles in order to accept Wavell's offer which after all is not independence or self-government, nor even an honest road to either.

That is why we Indians in East Asia must continue to hold on to the course of action that the Provisional Government of Free India under the supreme leadership of Netaji has already chalked out with a view to achieving our country's independence. We are convinced more strongly than ever before that no honourable compromise is possible between India and Britain. We count for India's freedom from Britain's clutches, not on the goodwill of British Viceroys and British Cabinets, but on our own armed forces, on the attrition of the British power in the Greater East Asia war, and on the fast developing international situation.

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Nippon Biding Time To Crush Enemy Finally

"The fighting spirit and the morale of the Nippon nation is at its peak, and the whole nation is awaiting anxiously the opportunity to strike the final blow at the enemy," stated Lt.-Col. Shozo Nakajima, chief spokesman of the Imperial Nippon Forces in the Southern Regions, at the weekly Press conference here yesterday.

"The whole nation is awaiting the time when they can pass the good news to the other peoples in Greater East Asia that they have dealt a crushing blow to the oncoming enemy," he continued.

"To put it in a nutshell, the war situation today is that we are waiting for the enemy to come to us. The experience that has been gained in the Okinawa fighting has given us hope and confidence that we can crush the enemy if he comes to the homeland.

"The severer the fighting, the stronger becomes the fighting spirit of the nation, and we are all the more anxiously awaiting the opportunity to deal a crushing blow to the enemy.

High Spirit

"True enough, part of Tokyo has been burnt out, but certainly not the fighting spirit of the nation. The more the city is burnt out the higher the fighting spirit of the people rises. And this applies to all the people in every nook and corner of the homeland," the Spokesman emphasized.

"I do not think there is any need for me to remind you about the gallant fighting that is being put up by our forces in Okinawa, even including the women and children. Everyone of the Nippon nation, including small boys and girls, have the confidence that Right is Might.

"In this war of will and ability, Nippon is putting in everything she has got in conjunction with the peoples of Greater East Asia to deal a decisive blow to the enemy. I look forward to the day, together with you, when Nippon can strike the decisive final blow to the enemy as he gets nearer to the Nippon homeland," concluded Lt.-Col. Nakajima.

Leopold Amery Heckled At First Election Speech

Lisbon, June 22 (Domei)—British Secretary of State for India Leopold S. Amery today was loudly heckled when he made his first public address at the current election campaign as Conservative candidate for the Sparkbrook constituency.

Amery was said to have been accorded "an extremely noisy reception from an audience of about 400" who listened to him deny charges of his responsibility for the Bengal famine.

"Large parts of his speech were entirely inaudible, while hecklers shouted questions and a stream of commentaries," the dispatch said.

Congress Working Committee Decides To Attend Simla Conference; Netaji In Radio Speech Appeals Gandhiji To Save Congress & Country From Impending Disaster

"Along with millions of my countrymen all over the world, I hope and pray that Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other Congress representatives at the Simla Conference will extricate themselves from an exceedingly difficult and embarrassing position and save the Congress and the country from impending disaster."

Thus states Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in his broadcast to India last night commenting on the latest news from India that the Congress Working Committee had decided to accept Lord Wavell's invitation to participate in the Simla Conference and reiterating his reasons for the rejection of the Viceroy's offer for the solution of the Indian political problem.

The text of Netaji's broadcast is given below:—

Sisters and brothers in India,

The latest news reaching us from India is to the effect that the Congress Working Committee decided last night to accept Lord Wavell's invitation to participate in the Simla Conference. To those who are acquainted with the politics of the Indian National Congress this news has not come as a surprise. Referring to the currents inside the Congress Working Committee, the political correspondent of the Associated Press of India has reported as follows:

"Opinion among the Congress leaders about the Viceroy's proposals divides itself into three groups. The first party is led by Mr. Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhai Patel who take strong exception to the use of the term 'Caste Hindus' in the Viceroy's broadcast. The middle group is led by Mr. Nehru and Maulana Azad who though not satisfied with the quantum of power contemplated to be transferred, takes the view that the scheme can be given a fair trial as an interim measure provided there is a sufficient possibility of advancing India's demand for national independence and the improvement of the lot of the poor. The third group led by Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Bhubhai Desai, feels that the terms of reference of the Simla Conference are so wide and elastic that all fears of the Con-

gress are groundless. They advocate that the Congress should accept the proposal without picking holes in it and give it an honest trial and thus demonstrate the determination of the Congress to get on with the business."

I cannot judge from this distance if the analysis of the political correspondent of the Associated Press of India is correct or not, but I should not be surprised if it is. In fact this analysis, if correct, confirms what I said yesterday about the political character of the present Congress Working Committee. It appears that the Radical Democratic Party has condemned the Simla Conference on the ground that representatives of Labour have not been invited to that conference. I should have expressed that idea in a quite different way. It is the exclusion—deliberate exclusion—of the exponents of Radical political thought in India—not only from the Simla Conference, but also from the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee—that is objectionable. I can understand the policy and attitude of Lord Wavell. He knows that the Simla Conference would meet with shipwreck if the representatives of radical opinion in India were invited.

But I fail to understand why, in considering such a highly controversial matter in which

opinion inside the Congress is sharply divided, representatives of the Left were excluded. If Sri Rajagopalachari, who is an exponent of what is practically a policy of unconditional co-operation with the British Government, could be invited to the Working Committee, it is, to say the least, unfair to exclude the representatives of the Left. Nobody can challenge the fact that there is a large and influential section within the Congress that is definitely opposed to the policy of participation in Britain's war and of whittling down India's national demand for independence. Judging from the analysis of the political correspondent of the Associated Press of India, the opinion of this section was not advocated by any member of the Congress Working Committee.

Feeble Argument

It may be argued that by accepting the invitation to the Simla Conference, the Working Committee has not committed itself in any way—but this argument cannot hold water. The Simla Conference will have to restrict its discussion within the four corners of Lord Wavell's offer. Everybody who attends this conference will have to accept the policy of whole-hearted participation in the coming campaign in East Asia and will have to repudiate the policy under which the Congress Ministries resigned office in 1939. Moreover, everybody attending this conference will have to accept the present constitutional position of the Viceroy and Governor-General and of his Executive Council and he can, at most, discuss the composition of the Executive Council barring the posts of the War Member. Lord Wavell has left no room for ambiguity and has made it quite clear that under the existing constitution it is he who will appoint the members of the Executive Council—that the members of the Executive Council will be responsible not to the legislature but to him—and that there is no question of "Majority rule" or of "collective responsibility" in the Executive Council. Consequently, everybody who attends the Simla Conference will have to give up the demand for independence—to which there is no reference at all in Lord Wavell's offer. He will have to give up also the immediate demand for a National Government at the centre res-

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NETAJI TO ADDRESS MASS MEETING HERE TOMORROW

The mass meeting of Syonan Indians at which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, will address the gathering on world events generally and Wavell's offer to Indians in particular, will be held at the Waterloo Street Padang, opposite the Local Branch of the I.I.L., tomorrow evening at 6 o'clock.

All Indians are requested to attend this important meeting and to hoist the National Flag side by side with the Hinomaru. Members of the general public are also invited to attend.

Following is the detailed programme:

- 6.00 P.M. 1. His Excellency Netaji arrives.
2. Unfurling the National Flag.
3. National Anthem led by Azad Hind Fauj.
4. Inspection of the Guard of Honour.
5. Garlanding by the Chairman of the I. I. L., Syonan Branch.
6. His Excellency Netaji addresses the gathering in HINDUSTANI and ENGLISH.
7. Translation in Tamil.
8. National Anthem led by the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

Random Notes

By CHANAKYA

A White Paper for India, of course, is a white paper but in its original state of whiteness because it is blank. There is nothing new in it beyond the Cripps' proposal. Cripps' proposal has been rejected by every right-thinking Indian resulting in the Quit India resolution of August 1942 and there is no wonder then that Wavell's proposals have not received any favourable comment or notice from any of the Indian leaders or the Indian Press.

There is deep and malicious cunning in this latest British move. It is nothing less than a deliberate attempt to undermine the firm determination of the Indian people. They know very well that the Congress has been the main bulwark of the Indian Revolution for Independence and they had the cheek to call the Congress a mere caste Hindu organisation. They want to Indianise the Viceroy's Executive on a communal basis. John Bull wants to play the same game of 'divide and rule' in order to keep India under his heel but he is very sadly mistaken this time.

"Freedom Now or Never" is the motto of Indians in East Asia. Nothing short of complete Independence—Purna Swaraj—will be acceptable to them. They have decided on this and that is to fight to the last man until complete independence is achieved. Independence can be achieved only by determined fighting and Wavell's proposals constitute nothing but a most diabolic plan to eternalise the British domination of India to exploit her more thoroughly for Britain's imperialist war of aggression. Goodbye, Lord Wavell—your proposals are gone with the wind.

Jawaharlal Nehru Backs Communist Candidate

Lisbon, June 21 (Domei)—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian National Congress Party leader, who was released from imprisonment a few days ago, has sent a message wishing Palmer Dutt, Communist candidate, success in his election battle against Leopold S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and Conservative candidate, for the right of representing the Sparkbrook constituency, according to a Birmingham dispatch.

Nehru's message said, "Having just come out of prison after nearly three years and being hustled and harassed, I am hardly in the position to issue a message, but I certainly wish Palmer Dutt every success in his election."

Five Enemy Warships Blasted Off Okinawa

A Nippon Base in the Okinawa Islands, June 22 (Domei)—Special attack corps of Nippon air forces from yesterday evening June 21 to dawn June 22 carried out fierce aerial assaults on enemy surface craft in waters around Okinawa and severely crippled two enemy battleships and one war vessel of unidentified category. A Nippon air torpedo unit also hammered enemy surface craft, heavily damaging one cruiser and one war vessel of unidentified category.

Meanwhile, according to reconnaissance reports, two enemy task forces with the mainstay composed of five to six aircraft-carriers are still active in waters around the Sakishima Group.

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possible to the Legislature—and will have to be content himself with partial Indianisation of the Executive Council.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt whatsoever that acceptance of the invitation to the Simla Conference automatically implies giving up of the fundamental principles and resolutions of the Indian National Congress—including the "Quit India" resolution for which so many of our colleagues and comrades are still rotting in prison. Moreover, it is regrettable and painful that not a single member of the Congress Working Committee has put forward the demand for the release of all political prisoners prior to negotiations with the British Government, although many of them have issued statements dealing with the less important points in Lord Wavell's offer.

No Justification

I said in my talk yesterday that the Working Committee is an Executive Body and is not constitutionally empowered to decide questions which involve the fundamental principles and policy of the Congress. Since the Working Committee does not represent all sections within the Congress and since there is no real emergency inside the country, there is no moral—not to speak of legal—justification for the Working Committee to deliberate on such vital questions behind the back of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress. There is also no justification for the Working Committee to accept on its own responsibility the invitation to the Simla Conference which means going back on the fundamental principles and resolutions of the Congress. I beg and implore Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee even at this late hour to pause and to ponder over the grave responsibility which they are taking upon themselves by ignoring the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress on such a momentous occasion.

I fail to understand why the Working Committee should act with such unseemly haste. That Lord Wavell and the British Government are in a hurry, I can understand. They are acting under three motives. Firstly, they guess that Indian people have been over-awed by the recent military successes of the Anglo-Americans and that the Indian people are inclined to think that the Anglo-Americans are bound to win this war. Lord Wavell and the British Government must exploit this psychological moment and strike while the iron is hot. They are afraid that after a few months the whole world may realise that in spite of the collapse of Germany, the overthrow of Nippon in the Far East is not an easy proposition. Secondly, Lord Wavell and the British Government must somehow bamboozle the Indian leaders and secure India's wholehearted co-operation, and necessary supplies for Britain's imperialist war in the Far East. Thirdly, Lord Wavell and the British Government must come to some agreement with the Indian leaders before the General Election on 5th July.

All these three motives afford sufficient explanation why Lord Wavell and the British Govern-

ment are in a beastly hurry! But that is no reason why the Congress Working Committee should walk into their trap.

A compromise with the British Government on the basis of Lord Wavell's offer would be justified only under two conditions. Firstly, if there had been no chance of winning independence and secondly, if this had been the last chance for arriving at a compromise with the British Government.

As to the first condition, I may say that in spite of the recent successes of the Anglo-Americans India has now a better chance of achieving her independence than ever before. As to the second condition, I have already said that no matter which party in Britain is called up to form a Cabinet, India will get another chance—and a better chance—of bargaining with the British Government after the fifth of July.

In my view there are three factors whose cumulative effect will help India to win her independence by the end of this war. Firstly, resistance to British imperialism inside India. Secondly, armed struggle against the British outside India. Thirdly, diplomacy in the international field. If resistance—even moral resistance—is kept up inside India, then India will remain an international issue and diplomacy in the international field in support of India's independence will have much scope as well as chance of success. So far as armed struggle is concerned, since—in spite of our recent reverses in Burma—the main force of the Azad Hind Fauj remains intact, we shall continue fighting and we shall fight to the last man and to the last round. We in East Asia can take a much more objective view of the world situation than our countrymen at home who are influenced too much by skilful enemy propaganda, and are inclined to hold an exaggerated view of the strength of the Anglo-American powers.

Indians As Cannon-Fodder

Those Congressmen who are thinking of accepting Lord Wavell's offer should look ahead and prepare themselves for the day when they will have to provide thousands of Indian troops as cannon-fodder for Britain's imperialist war in East Asia. They will also have to prepare themselves for fighting their own countrymen in the Azad Hind Fauj who are prepared to fight the British and their allies wherever they happen to meet them. Even if these Congressmen will not hesitate to take up arms against the Azad Hind Fauj, they should at least hesitate to provide thousands of India's youths as cannon-fodder for the perpetuation of the British Empire and India's slavery.

To those who doubt if India can achieve her independence by the end of this war I should like to say that India will, in any case, get another opportunity for striking for her freedom as soon as the war ends. As I have said before, the change-over from war to peace is a period of unrest when every victorious power looks forward to rest and relaxation. Because of this, revolutions—as in Ireland and Turkey—which failed during a war, met with success after the enemy emerged victorious from the war. In India too, during the first world war, the

revolutionary movement was easily crushed. But the movement which sprang up under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership after Britain's victory in that war proved to be irrepressible. Looking ahead I can see clearly that if India fails to achieve her independence before the end of this war, there is bound to be a revolution in India when peace comes. For India peace will mean the demobilisation of an army which, according to British reports, is now two and a half million strong. This army, which is now providing cannon-fodder for the British, will, if the need arises, provide the soldiers for India's post-war revolution.

The Congress Working Committee, under Mahatma Gandhi's advice, has already taken a step which is fraught with danger. The danger lies in the possibility that the Viceroy, in co-operation with Mr. Jinnah, may completely outwit the Congress representatives who seem to be very anxious for a compromise. Frankly speaking my hope lies chiefly in Mahatma Gandhi. On several occasions in the past—though not on all occasions—he has risen superior to his political opponents in diplomacy. On several occasions he has retrieved a difficult situation, throwing the onus of blame on his opponents. I hope and pray that on this occasion, too, he may save India from the impending tragedy.

Committed Blunder

Apart from consideration of principle, the Working Committee has committed a blunder in accepting the invitation without first clarifying several knotty problems. Indians over the world will wait with bated breath to see if Mahatma Gandhi is going to be outwitted by Lord Wavell and Mr. Jinnah or if he is going to get the better of him. If I may be permitted to make a suggestion, Mahatma Gandhi should, at the very outset, bring the discussion to a higher plane by laying down the proposition that the problem for the Indian people is not as to how many seats Hindus, or Muslims or Sikhs or others will have. The problem for them is as to who the men are who will get those seats. The Congress knows no distinction between Indian and Indian on the basis of religion. For instance, for the Congress, there can be no objection to giving a majority of seats—or even all the seats—to Muslims, provided they are nationalists in whose hands the destiny of India will be safe. On the other hand, the Congress will refuse to give a single seat to a Hindu simply because he is a Hindu if he is untrustworthy and unpatriotic.

I find that some of my countrymen have been very loud in advertising the sincerity of Lord Wavell, meaning thereby that he is a sincere friend of India. Lord Wavell, no doubt, is sincere, but he is sincere only to his own people. With regard to India I should like to say without any hypocritical quibbling that as long as he remains the head of the Government of India, he is our arch enemy—India's public enemy No. 1. As a patriotic Englishman and an imperialist he will try to get as much as he can for his country giving as little as possible to India. In accordance with the tradition of British diplo-

macy, he will—under the instructions of his masters—resort to every possible subterfuge for achieving his ends.

I have already remarked that acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer will mean giving up the fundamental principles and resolution of the Congress. In addition to this it may also come to this that the Congress will have to give up its national character and its position as the representative of the Indian masses and become one party among many parties in the country. This will be nothing short of political suicide for the Congress.

Along with millions of my countrymen all over the world, I hope and pray that Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other Congress representatives at the Simla Conference will extricate themselves from an exceedingly difficult and embarrassing position and save the Congress and the country from impending disaster.

Though the representatives of the Left Wing of the Congress are mostly behind the prison bars and cannot make their voice heard, there are many others inside the Congress and outside, who are in a position to do something. I hope and trust they will carry on a country-wide agitation against Lord Wavell's offer—but I hope and trust also they will not view the problem from a narrow point of view and will conduct the campaign from a higher political and national plane. If the real opinion of the Indian people asserts itself in time I have no doubt that it will rise like a wave and sweep away this latest menace to India's freedom—Lord Wavell's offer and the Simla Conference.

Nippon Forces Storm Islands Near Piliou

A Nippon Base in the South-Western Pacific, June 23 (Domei)—Nippon garrison forces defending Piliou, Palau Group, have captured a number of small islands close to Piliou Island. Typical of many successful assaults launched by our forces is the attack against the enemy on Paragon Island, the enemy's foremost supply base. This attack was carried out by a small party of Nippon troops commanded by Sub-Lieut. Shinya Nihira on the night of June 16.

MISSING

An adding machine (Remington, No. M75726, length 13 in. width 7 in. height 5 in.) has been missing from EIGA HAIKYU SYA, Orchard Road, Syonan, since 8 Rokugatu, 2605.

Any one or firm having come into possession of it or those who know the whereabouts of the said machine, are requested to communicate with or call personally at the Sonu Ka, Eiga Haikyū Sya. (Tel. 5871).

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